

Harry Maitey: from Polynesia to Prussia

Anneliese Moore

On October 18, 1824, the Berlin newspaper *Vossische Zeitung* introduced its readers to an exotic newcomer to the Prussian capital—the teenager Harry Maitey from the Sandwich Islands. Soft long hair, a swarthy complexion and facial tatooes were mentioned as the most striking features of this intelligent, sprightly youth. He had been orphaned and had come to Prussia completely of his own will. Late in 1823, while the ship *Mentor* had been taking on water and fresh provisions in Honolulu, he had pleaded to be taken along.¹

Though Maitey apparently was the first Sandwich Islander to arrive in Berlin, others had left Hawaii for a variety of destinations. “In the period immediately following the discovery of these islands by Captain Cook, scarcely a ship stopped here without carrying away one or more Hawaiians, as seamen, as servants, or, more rarely, as passengers.”² The Hawaiians were sometimes exhibited as curiosities in distant lands and subsequently abandoned once their novelty had worn off.³ Maitey, however, gradually blended into the small world of minor civil servants at the fringe of the Prussian court. There he lived a long, rather carefree, life in a bucolic setting near the playgrounds of the royal family between Berlin and Potsdam. There, with some effort, traces of him can still be found. Buildings that housed him still exist, the parish register entries noting his marriage and his death have not yet faded, and in a minute sylvan cemetery a granite cross has been carefully reconstructed. Its gold leaf inscription reads “here rests in God the Sandwich Islander Maitey, 1872.”

From various documents, ship logs, court messages, business ledgers, and newspaper articles the life of Harry, Henry, or Heinrich Wilhelm,

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Maitey has been pieced together, and the circumstances delineated which brought him from his native Polynesia to Prussia.

YESTERDAY THE KING SAILED TO ENGLAND

On November 27, 1823, two unprecedented events had taken place in the Hawaiian archipelago. One was the departure of Kamehameha II [Liholiho] from his Hawaiian kingdom to England on *L'Aigle*, an English whaler under the command of Captain Valentine Starbuck. Instead of taking whale oil back to England, as planned, the vessel had been hastily converted to accommodate the first royal party to leave the Pacific on a state visit—the king, his favorite queen, Kamamalu, and a small number of attendants.

As *L'Aigle* departed from Honolulu to sail toward South America, the frigate *Mentor* of Bremen, under charter of the Prussian state, arrived from Coquimbo, Chile. That afternoon, the *Mentor* was in the Alenuihaha channel, between the islands of Hawaii and Maui. The vessel's voyage around the globe, westward by the way of Cape Horn into the Pacific, was the realization of a careful plan, long considered by the *Königlich Preussische Seehandlung* [Royal Prussian Maritime Company], under the command of Captain Harmssen. Thus the appearance of the *Mentor* in Hawaii can also be called a "first", and as such it was noted in the diary of Stephen Reynolds, the constant observer and commentator of Honolulu waterfront activities. "Ship *Mentor*, Bremen, from Coquimbo; forty days passage, bound to Canton . . . some speculation among the people as to the *Mentor*, her colors being new here. . . ."4 The purpose of the *Mentor's* layover is recorded in the ship's log for Friday, November 28, 1823: "Arrived in the bay of Hanaarora on the island of Woahu at nine o'clock in the morning. We had our water barrels filled and bought some fresh provisions."5

In addition to the official entries, a newcomer's candid, though not always accurate, notes regarding the Honolulu scene were made by Wilhelm Oswald, the *Mentor's* supercargo. Oswald was rowed ashore to arrange for the planned purchases. Upon landing he immediately made the acquaintance of John Coffin Jones, Jr., the "American consul and agent". Jones gave Oswald some "insights" into the political events which had led to the king's departure—"his hope for English protection and strengthening of his power in view of the subversion of some of the chiefs". From other sources Oswald learned that the king's voyage had been motivated "by fear of a Russian invasion".

Though Oswald spent less than a week in Honolulu he was well aware that he was witnessing a moment of great change for Hawaii. "Since Moroha's departure for England many important chiefs from all the

islands have come together in order to confer on important issues. During my stay new governors were named and plans were made to improve the administration of the state. It is planned to introduce European-type laws—apparently an idea the missionaries have come up with.”⁶ For Don Francisco de Paula Marin, interpreter from the time of Kamehameha I, change meant an immediate improvement: he noted that the “first junta” of the new government was held December 1 and that land which had previously been taken away from him was now again in his hands.⁷

Oswald happened to arrive in Honolulu not only at a time of general political uneasiness but also at a moment of grieving over the death of a high-ranking chief. The governor of Maui had died on the day of Liholiho’s departure, and in a combination of traditional Hawaiian and recently introduced Christian rites, he had been buried within the walls of the fort. There Oswald noticed the lamentations of women and children while a “yellow flag was hoisted as a sign of mourning”,⁸ thus adding an interesting detail to Levi Chamberlain’s description of Chief Keoua’s death and burial.⁹

Trying to leave Honolulu on the German ship was William Ellis of the London Missionary Society. The week before, Ellis had been refused permission to join Liholiho’s party to London on *L’Aigle*, and now he was trying his luck on the *Mentor*, mainly for the sake of his wife’s health. Unfortunately, the Ellises could not be accommodated.¹⁰

The only person who did get aboard the *Mentor* in Honolulu was a Hawaiian teenager. “He fervently pleaded to be taken along. Inquiries made in regard to his family indicated that he had neither father nor mother, and there were no other relatives who claimed him. He sailed along to China and by then he had gotten used to the European way of life.”¹¹ It seems possible that the boy’s life had been affected by the political and social events related to the king’s departure. His original name had apparently been Kaparena¹² but he called himself Henry, or Harry. He also went by a nickname, which was recorded by the Germans as his family name—Maitey. Obviously this name was derived from the Hawaiian *maika’i* or *maitai’i*, meaning “good”, reflecting the youngster’s cheerful, willing disposition.

No mention of Harry Maitey has been found in Hawaiian documents. He was perhaps one in the crowd that had been attracted to Honolulu by Liholiho’s departure and that afterwards milled around town, following the action between harbor and fort, the white men’s stores and the missionaries’ compound. In his letters and diaries, Oswald elaborated on Hawaiian social structure, but he did not leave any indication as to Maitey’s standing among his people. From the official Prussian accounts

it appears that he might have asked for asylum on the *Mentor*. He was not needed as a crew member for the *Mentor* had not lost any men despite a hostile encounter with a Spanish Royalist privateer off the coast of Peru.¹³

SHIP MENTOR CHANGES COURSE

The ship which was to become Maitey's home for the next ten months was a frigate of 337 register tons, refitted after service in the Napoleonic wars. While in Hawaii she belonged to the Bremen shipping firm Delius Bros., one of whose owners was a Prussian consul.¹⁴ She was equipped with "six 6-pound cannons, 2 blunderbusses, 18 muskets, 18 cultasses, 2 pistols, plus the necessary gun powder and balls serving for the defense against pirates."¹⁵ She left Hawaii with the *General Hamilton* of Providence, under the command of Captain Pearce. Before their departure, Oswald had been invited, together with Pearce, to dine at the house of the American agent, John Coffin Jones, Jr.¹⁶ On the way to Canton friendly relations between the *Mentor* and the *General Hamilton* continued to prevail, and since the weather was favorable most of the time, the officers of the two ships exchanged visits during the voyage.¹⁷

On those occasions, and during the two months the *Mentor* spent at Canton, if Maitey had wished to return, he could easily have found passage on one of the ships engaged in the sandalwood trade. Instead he went along as the *Mentor*, loaded with tea, silk, and other exotic items, left Canton for Germany by the way of the Indian Ocean and around Africa. No unusual incidents happened on the long voyage except for an outbreak of scurvy which was brought to a halt upon arrival at St. Helena. With medication and fresh provisions, the ship's company regained full health and there was time left for Oswald to visit Napoleon's tomb and the area where he had spent his last years as an exile.¹⁸

On August 25, the *Mentor* was in the British Channel when Captain Harmssen received word, by Dover boat, to bypass the original destination, Bremen, and to proceed to the Prussian port of Swinemünde on the Baltic Sea.¹⁹ The message, from Delius Bros., owners of the vessel, meant additional days of sailing in European waters, and indicated that the ownership of the *Mentor* had been transferred to the *Seehandlung*, where the ultimate jurisdiction lay in the hands of King Frederick William III of Prussia. From this moment on, all actions concerning the ship and for company needed the king's consent. The *Mentor* stopped only a few hours in the channel to take on fresh water and provisions and to send messages. Thus no one went ashore and nobody on the *Mentor* was aware that at nearby Woolwich, H.M.S. *Blonde* under the command of Lord Byron was preparing to return the remains of

1. *Създаване на нов документ*
 2. *Отваряне на съществуващ документ*

1. *Frühlingstraube* den ich dir in dem neuen Jahr
 Mit Glück und Segen, gesendet mit Freuden.
 Es möge dir viel Gutes und Glück bringen,
 Und ich bei jeder Gelegenheit sein;
 Es möge dir viel Gutes und Glück bringen,
 Und ich bei jeder Gelegenheit sein;
 Es möge dir viel Gutes und Glück bringen,
 Und ich bei jeder Gelegenheit sein.



Генерал Миллеръ
въ Петербургъ 1812 года.

Maitey's handwriting in a New Year's wish for Rother, January 1829, Berlin. Insert: Sketch of Harry Maitey, date unknown.

Kamehameha II [Liholiho] and his queen, Kamamalu, to their Hawaiian homeland. The royal couple had reached England on *L'Aigle* in May 1824 and by the middle of July were dead of measles.²⁰

Maitey had lost his Hawaiian king and had come under the jurisdiction of a foreign one without being aware of either fact.

Swinemünde was a new Prussian harbor, and the returning *Mentor*, having successfully circled the globe, was deemed the appropriate vessel to add glamor to the new installation. Oswald described the arrival:

As soon as the *Mentor* had cast anchor at Helsingör on September 7, 1824, the royal Prussian consul, Mr. Holm, came aboard and brought us a Prussian flag which was hoisted immediately. On September 14, 1824, the *Mentor*, flying the Prussian colors, entered the new harbor of Swinemünde. She was the first ship which arrived there directly from China and she was greeted by joyful ovations of the crowd.²¹

After their arrival in Swinemünde, the men of the *Mentor* fell into two groups; one consisting of the sailors who had been originally hired for the voyage and who were accounted for on the maritime passport issued on October 24, 1822 in Bremen, their home port; the other the officers who were expected to report to the Berlin headquarters of the Maritime company and to be presented to the Prussian king. There remained the question of Maitey. Until the transfer of the *Mentor* he had been aboard as a casual addition to the personnel and his presence was inconsequential. If the ship had gone to Bremen, as originally planned, Maitey might have disembarked there, mingled with the waterfront people and found himself another ship. Under the new arrangement, however, he had to be accounted for, body and soul. Because of the uniqueness of the ship's venture, the task of attending to the details of her arrival fell to officials in the Prussian state bureaucracy. To Maitey's good fortune, they, rather than some subordinates, became accountable for the "*Mentor's* Sandwich islander." On September 22, 1824, the president of the *Seehandlung*, Christian Rother, informed the king: "I most humbly present to your Royal Majesty a Sandwich islander who asked voluntarily and on his own initiative to be taken along. Your Majesty's disposition in this case is respectfully requested." And the king replied immediately: "I expect your report after the arrival [here in Berlin] of the supercargo Oswald, Captain Harmssen and the Sandwich islander. At such a time I shall make further decisions."²² Frederick William III of Prussia signed the message September 27, 1824, the eve of the departure of H.M.S. *Blonde* bearing the Hawaiian king's remains from England to the Sandwich Islands.

By October, the unloading of the *Mentor* had been completed. Most of the 5,000 wooden boxes containing precious tea from China remained in the *Seehandlung's* seaboard warehouse, but the "curios and the

Sandwich islander," and with the officers, were taken in two carriages to Berlin²³—a distance somewhat greater than the road on which Liholiho had travelled by coach in May from Portsmouth to London. In Berlin the two carriages went directly to a beautifully maintained eighteenth-century mansion at 21 Jaegerstrasse, bordering Gendarmenmarkt square. The travellers were led up a wide wood-panelled staircase to President Rother's spacious residence on the second floor, above the offices and conference rooms of the *Seehandlung* headquarters.²⁴

Rother was anxious to show the marvels of the successful seafaring venture to the king, the captain wanted to go home to Bremen, and Oswald was longing to be off to Hamburg to his waiting fiancée. But Frederick William III was out of town, at Paretz, one of his rural castles, contemplating an important step in his personal life. At Paretz he received Rother's report of October 13 which included more news about Maitey and a thumbnail characterization of the newly arrived stranger: "The Sandwich islander is an extremely good-natured fellow. He understands some German, but otherwise he speaks only his Sandwich language. He is staying with us [the Rother family]. . . ." At the end of his report Rother asked for further directions about Maitey's future.

The king discussed the matter with his councilors, and the resulting documents indicate that, as of October 15, 1824, the Sandwich islander Maitey, and especially his spiritual education, had officially come under the authority of the Prussian ruler. "The king has asked me to discuss the matter with you, particularly how and where Maitey can be educated in the German language and in the principles of Christianity," wrote Councilor Albrecht, and Frederick William III added a personal note to Rother, promising him to disclose, before long, the specifics in regard to the "Sandwich islander who had come along."²⁵

While the king was still at his country seat, an exhibition of curios and artifacts was set up in the *Seehandlung* building, with Maitey close at hand. There a reporter of the *Vossische Zeitung* talked to the stranger and noted that he "completely lacked the pronunciation of the sound 'r'" but that he was otherwise able to repeat German words without hesitation, as long as they did not contain too many consonant clusters.

Maitey was also asked to sing a tune in his native language, his audience expecting a short presentation, something like a *Volkslied*. At first, Maitey coyly declined, acting "almost like our young ladies." But once he had started to sing, it took a great amount of persuasion to make him come to a conclusion. Seated on a chair, he accompanied his song with lively hand motions. The reporter noted that he frequently slapped his right hand against his heart, but he never touched his right side with his left hand. The range of notes was limited to four or five, and the

words consisted mainly of the sounds ae, i, and o. His pleasant tenor voice was "free of harsh and jarring sounds."

The visitors were mainly impressed by the luxury goods that had been brought from Canton—tea, cinnamon, and bales of silk; art objects made of ivory and mother-of-pearl; porcelain and paintings on rice paper. Also exhibited were zoological and mineral specimens destined for the new *Mineralogische und Zoologische Museum*. From Hawaii there were pieces of *tapa* cloth, drinking vessels fashioned from gourds, feather fans, helmets of knotted fibers, weapons, fishhooks, and various household utensils.²⁶

Finding himself in a new, exciting environment, surrounded by objects which represented the best of his own culture, as well as the coveted goods of the Pacific China trade, Maitey must have felt surrounded by the best of all worlds. And for a fleeting moment, though somewhat belatedly, Berlin seemed to have had its own "noble savage", a situation faintly reminiscent of Omai, the first South Sea Islander who visited England in 1774.²⁷ But Maitey arrived in Berlin fifty years after Omai had been lionized by London society, admired as a "man in a state of nature." The mood of exhilaration at the Maritime company's exhibition in Berlin, 1824, was probably more motivated by patriotic and mercantile pride—by the thought that the exotic bounty, including the Hawaiian youth, had been brought back from the first circumnavigation of the globe under Prussian auspices.

Actually, the day of the noble savage was over. In the 1820s, Prussia, like most of the Western world, had turned away from the eighteenth-century ideal of goodness in Nature. Maitey was considered a welcome, but unredeemed, savage, rather than a noble one. The once glorious image of the noble savage had changed into one of an unpredictable, possibly even dangerous, being. This opinion can be detected in the "joke" of the reporter who described the *Seehandlung* exhibition: The Sandwich islander "expressed a special delight when he saw a very stout gentleman. He ran up to him and repeatedly put his arms around him. He did it in such a fashion that everybody began to worry—might it be possible that those islanders' strange appetite for which Cook had to pay with his life was awakening in this young volunteer?"²⁸ Even if this passage were to be taken facetiously, it brings to mind Rother's emphatic assurance to the king that the *Mentor's* Hawaiian was "extremely" good-natured, as if he had to make it clear that a *Seehandlung* ship did not import cannibals into Prussia.²⁹

That no force had been used to bring the stranger to Prussia was central to all communication regarding Maitey. It was reiterated by Oswald, by Rother, even by the police in Berlin.³⁰ These repeated

assertions seem to indicate that the Prussians were cognizant of the plight which had befallen the kidnapped "Owyhee Chiefs" in the early eighteen-twenties, and that they strongly disapproved of the cruel tactics by which these Hawaiians had been kidnapped, exploited and brought to London where they finally were abandoned.³¹ The *Vossische Zeitung*, too, pointed out that Maitey had joined the Prussians completely on his own will. Amusingly, the same journalist puts forth the tenets of "Prussian work ethics" by suggesting a useful employment for Maitey who "could fill the post of a guard in the planned [ethnographic] museum."

A YOUNG MAN WITH A FLAIR FOR FINE CLOTHES
IN A STYLISH NEIGHBORHOOD

Twice that fall the king had promised to spell out the specifics of Maitey's future, but nothing came forth. Frederick William III was never known for making prompt decisions, but to complicate things, at the time of Maitey's arrival the king was preoccupied with personal matters. A widower for fourteen years, he was preparing to contract a morganatic marriage with Auguste von Harrach, a Silesian countess thirty years his junior. Rother, too, was a busy man. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, he had helped to restore the dislocated Prussian finances, and now he was the head of the far-flung semi-autonomous *Seehandlung*, helping Prussia to catch up with the Industrial Revolution. In addition to shipping goods on trans-oceanic and inland waterways, the company was involved in banking and finance; in the production of textiles, chemicals, and machines; and in the construction of highways all over the Prussian provinces.³²

Thus Maitey's role in his new environment was not well defined, mainly because of the king's indecision. But an early opportunity to consider the Sandwich islander a short-term visitor only, as had been the case of Omai in London, and to return him to his native islands was disregarded. The opportunity arose as early as 1825, when Captain Harmssen and Supercargo Oswald were commissioned to take a new *Seehandlung* vessel, the *Princess Louise*, on a trip around the world with a stopover in Honolulu. President Rother and Frederick William III corresponded about the *Princess Louise's* impending departure but they discussed only the objects which should be brought back from the voyage and not what, or who, would be taken along.³³ Rother continued to be host to Maitey who lived "upstairs" with the President's family. "Downstairs" in the *Seehandlung* office a file and account were set up with the label "Sandwich islander Harry Maitey, brought along on the *Seehandlung* ship *Mentor*, 1824."³⁴

It was to take another six years to insert an all-important addition onto this label, indicating that Harry Maitey had been duly baptized. Just as the American missionaries were deeply involved in the work of instruction and conversion among the natives in Hawaii, much of Europe during the Restoration period was permeated with an evangelizing zeal. In Prussia under Frederick William III, "the throne and the altar" were in especially close alliance. There was no doubt in anybody's mind that the unredeemed Sandwich islander had to be converted. More specifically, he had to be guided toward salvation by way of the *Evangelische Kirche*, the Prussian State Church, with the king at its head.

During the long preparation for his christening, the "*Mentor's* Sandwich Islander" remained a "liability" of the *Seehandlung*, under the generally benevolent, but argus-eyed, Rother, although the few *Talers* spent on Maitey amounted to little in the company's finances. Because of Rother's mercantile skills, the company had gained a certain amount of independence within the Prussian state machinery. Certain monies, from precluded premium bonds, were not forwarded to the state treasury, but remained in the company "in order to accumulate funds available for His Majesty's disposition in case of extraordinary occurrences."³⁵ Nevertheless, in accordance with impeccable business practices, Maitey's expenses for clothing were computed and accounted for to a penny. Indeed, the Sandwich islander's adjustment to the material goods of western culture was recorded in the *Seehandlung's* ledger in numerous bills for boots and shoes that had been made to order; for fine woolen cloth that was bought to be cut into first-class tailor-made suits; and for hats, shirts, socks and fancy white vests.

There is no way of knowing if or to what extent Maitey experienced a culture shock in his new environment. In Hawaii he was only twelve years old when the *kapu* system was abandoned, and during the voyage, if not before in Honolulu, he must have been exposed to life styles different from his own childhood experiences. In contact with the people in Prussia, Maitey frequently showed more sophistication and tolerance toward a different culture than vice-versa. While he was generally described as friendly and poised, the Prussians occasionally became impatient with his strange ways. The audience that watched him at the 1824 exhibition soon tired of his chanting in Hawaiian, and the press noted that his "unusual motions made the people feel as if they were watching somebody who is demented."³⁶

Even those who knew him well and who liked him were sometimes caught in their preconceived notions. Rother, for example, was unable to detect a Hawaiian cultural trait in Maitey's desire to bathe frequently; rather, he interpreted this cleanliness as the perpetual attempt of a

swarthy man to rid himself of his pigmentation.³⁷ In general, though, Maitey's acceptance in the Rother family can be considered a fortunate cultural interaction, resulting in a situation that was, as long as it lasted, in accord with the Hawaiian concept of *hānai*, or adoptive family relation. President Rother was a figure of authority for Maitey, there was some companionship between Maitey and Rother's son, and, in later years, after her husband had been elevated to the rank of nobleman and to the office of minister of finance, Mrs. Rother became the godmother to Maitey's first child.

With the greatest of ease the *Mentor's* Sandwich islander adjusted to wearing elegant European fashions. He was especially fond of good shoes and boots,³⁸ and all through his life he was known to be dressed spotlessly in shiny boots.³⁹ Rother was startled by his exotic protégé's fondness for elegant clothes, and later on, Maitey's teacher, Education Inspector Kopf, mentioned his pupil's streak of vanity as if it were a flaw in his character.⁴⁰

During his first years in Berlin, the exotic young man with a flair for a European attire lived in an accordingly fashionable neighborhood, a few steps away from spectacular structures and streets. Gendarmenmarkt was one of Berlin's most stately plazas, and the *Seehandlung* building which had been constructed on behalf of an eighteenth-century Prussian ruler faced the majestic stairs and columns of the neo-Grecian *Schauspielhaus* [Royal Theater]. This creation by the State Architect Schinkel was flanked by the huge identical domes of the French Huguenot Cathedral and of the *Neue Kirche* [New Church, or German Cathedral].

Several mornings a week, on market days, the plaza brimmed over with the bartering crowd—farmers amidst their cabbages and chicken coops, matrons followed by their basket-toting maids, with peddlers and beggars everywhere. The romantic writer, E. T. A. Hoffmann, who lived at Gendarmenmarkt has described this scene in his sketch *Des Vettters Eckfenster* [*The Cousin's Corner Window*],⁴¹ 1822. At this Gendarmenmarkt study, too, Hoffmann had created, in 1819, the whimsical satire *Heimatochare* in which he brought to life a bucolic, pseudohistorical Hawaii—the flower-scented glades near “Hana-ruru on the island of O-Wahu, King Teimotu's residence.”⁴²

Also at Gendarmenmarkt, and only a few yards away from “Maitey's house”, was the tavern of Lutter und Wegner, frequented by Hoffmann and his friends and immortalized by Jacques Offenbach in his opera *Tales of Hoffmann*. Close by, the well-bred idlers of the time gathered at Stehely's coffeehouse for conversation and newspaper reading. And then there was Unter den Linden, the wide tree-lined avenue, leading from the royal castle to the Brandenburg gate and offering a perpetual

spectacle of people, palaces, and parades. It the evening, the glow of the newly installed gas lanterns must have been a far cry from Honolulu after dark with its *kukui* nut candles.⁴³ Maitey could not have picked a more interesting spot.

But Rother had more in mind than carefree acculturation for the *malihini* (newcomer) from Hawaii. He himself was the son of a Silesian farmer and his career was unusual for his time. Raised without the benefit of an advanced education, he had to work hard to succeed. Because of his financial and organizational talents he had advanced rapidly in the Prussian state bureaucracy, moving from a provincial outpost to the center of influence in Berlin. There he had worked closely with State Chancellor Hardenberg and with Wilhelm von Humboldt, when the latter was Prussian ambassador to the court of St. James in London.⁴⁴

Since they were still left without the promised royal directives for Maitey, the Rotheres devised their own educational program for him. Their plan was to expose Maitey to the finer points of western culture by involving him in chores around their household. Among other things, Maitey was taught to serve at meals, much to his own enjoyment. His service gave Rother's dinner parties a touch of the *grand monde* and guests liked to slip the exotic attendant silver *Taler* tips. Maitey gladly accepted these little gifts and spent them forthwith for fineries, much to Rother's chagrin.⁴⁵

Maitey also got to know other parts of Germany. Every year his host family, like all affluent Berliners, left the capital and spent the summer months at spas or country seats, and in 1825 and 1826, Maitey went with them on journeys to the Prussian province of Silesia where Rother owned an estate, Rogau. To judge from the local shoemaker's bills for new boots and for repairs, Maitey must have spent a good number of summer days roaming the Silesian fields and forests.⁴⁶

These relatively carefree years were interspersed with sporadic attempts to submit Maitey to some formal language instruction. They were neither very long nor very professional—no tutorial expenses have been recorded in Maitey's file at the *Seehandlung*. Only in the fall of 1826, when he was eighteen or nineteen, did Maitey begin to attend school on a fairly regular basis.

IN THE CENTER OF THE CITY AND OUTSIDE THE GATE

Shortly before Maitey's arrival in Berlin, Rother had become the president of the *Berliner Verein zur Erziehung sittlich verwahrloster Kinder*, a privately founded society for the education of neglected and delinquent children. The number of these children was constantly rising

as the result of the recent war and growing industrialization. Rother had been able to channel some *Seehandlung* funds into the project and to attract support of influential individuals, including the king. As a result, a training school was set up in 1825. The director of this *Erziehungshaus vor dem Halleschen Tor* (named for its location outside the Halle Gate) was D. T. Kopf, an educator of the Pietist tradition who was highly esteemed by the educators of his time. The purpose of the *Erziehungshaus* was to save delinquent children not only from the hellfires of afterlife, but also from the hell of prison terms in the forced company of older, hardened criminals.⁴⁷

The *Erziehungshaus* was the school chosen for Maitey. To get to it, Maitey had to walk about half an hour, away from the center of the city, through the Friedrichstadt district, past the toll booth at the Halle Gate and across a bridge over a broad drainage ditch; the farther away he got, the less interesting the streets became, for the school was situated in the neighborhood of lumberyards, windmills and cemeteries. The only excitement came when periodically the water of the ditch rose above its banks, as in 1829, when the whole area was inundated. The plaza behind the check point turned into a lake where the "youngsters rowed about in wooden tubs, catching pike and other fish."⁴⁸

There were about twenty boys in the institution when Maitey first started his classes, and more than twice that number, another Hawaiian youth among them, were there when he "graduated" in 1830. Outside of the instruction in the four R's, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and Religion, Maitey did not share the life of the other boys. He never had to wear their drab uniform, "grey, with yellow buttons, and a blue cap."⁴⁹ Some pupils worked in factories, some in horticulture and trades, and still others were occupied with the weaving of baskets, but nobody expected Maitey to dirty his hands or his nice clothes.

If this initiation to scholastic life meant a new pattern in Maitey's life, Rother soon decided that an even greater change was due. Early in 1827, he wrote a long letter to the king assessing his ward's adjustment to Prussian ways. He stressed Maitey's good qualities, tidiness, sense of order, goodnature but he also described his pace of Christianization as slow because of the persisting language difficulties. In a crowning, involuted sentence Rother subtly suggested that the king take Maitey into the services of the royal household. "Because of his tidiness he is most useful to serve at meals—something he has learned in my household." Rother also pointed out that the king would have to give his new servant time off for his daily lessons.⁵⁰

Frederick William III replied immediately, but this time very curtly, indicating that he would let his decision be known once Maitey's baptism

and confirmation had taken place. In the meantime he ordered the continuation of Maitey's elementary education, especially in German and in religion.⁵¹ After having received this royal order, Rother was still left with the problem of whether he wanted his own family continuously enlarged by a Polynesian lad in his late teens.

Rother requested from Kopf a progress report for Maitey and a date for his baptism and confirmation. Kopf admitted that Maitey's achievements in German and in religion had not been very spectacular, but he also intimated that not much more could be expected of the pupil in view of his consistently brief appearances in school. He elaborated that Maitey

has difficulties with the pronunciation of individual German sounds and with their combination into syllables, words, and phrases. About religion he has only faint notions, and as yet it has been impossible to develop these notions into clear concepts. This problem stems from the difficulty in communicating with the pupil.

On the brighter side, Kopf emphasized that Maitey "progresses nicely in writing and especially in arithmetic where everything up to the number fifty seems to be clear to him." On the basis of his professional optimism and with the help of a new schedule, which Rother had devised for Maitey, Kopf considered the Easter season of the following year, 1828, a likely date for his acceptance into the *Evangelische Kirche*, the Prussian State Church.⁵²

Rother was at that time in his late forties and so overworked that he had to restore his health at a spa. His health, among other considerations, prompted him to insert in his letter to Kopf a sentence which signaled a major change in Maitey's life. "As of June 1, and through the summer, I shall put Maitey completely in the *Erziehungshaus*, under your supervision."⁵³ This step resulted in the end of the uninterrupted *hānai*, or adoptive, family situation which Maitey had enjoyed at the Rother's since his arrival in Berlin three years earlier.

Gradually, Maitey's life was becoming more complex. Not only was existence at the threadbare *Erziehungshaus* very different from living in Rother's elegant mansion: there were even days when Maitey, after having rubbed elbows with the wretched waifs in Mr. Kopf's school-room, could be found in the study of Wilhelm von Humboldt where he held the attention of the philosopher-linguist and erstwhile Prussian statesman.

These sessions with Humboldt apparently got started after Rother had received that dismal report of Maitey's unsatisfactory performance in his German class. Like any concerned parent, *hānai* or other, Rother must have discussed his protégé's learning problems with his friends.

In this case the friend happened to be Wilhelm von Humboldt for whom Rother had worked on a special mission in London.⁵⁴ In 1817, Humboldt, then ambassador, had enlisted Rother's financial talents to help Prussia negotiate a loan from the London Rothschild bank, and now Humboldt's philosophical insight and his linguistic genius were called upon to help "Prussia's Sandwich islander" with his communication problem.

In the files of the *Seehandlung* a brief note exists, scribbled by Wilhelm von Humboldt on April 15, 1827, and addressed to Rother: "If you would send your Harry today at six o'clock I'll try my art on him. If today is not convenient, please send him next Tuesday at the same time."⁵⁵ This note was written two weeks after Rother had received Kopf's report about Maitey's poor performance in his German classes, while Maitey was still living with the Rotheres. Humboldt's main residence was at Tegel castle in a village north of Berlin, but he also maintained a town house at Gendarmenmarkt [Französische Strasse 42] where Maitey went to see him.⁵⁶

It is hard to say how much Maitey's German improved through his contact with the great linguist. Humboldt however, gathered useful linguistic information from the Hawaiian youth. "In 1827, the South Sea languages became the center of Humboldt's studies where they remained for the rest of his life," wrote Buschmann, the editor of Humboldt's linguistic works.⁵⁷ As early as July of 1827, Humboldt brought a small part of this work to a certain stage of completion, probably with its planned presentation at the forthcoming meeting of the Berlin Academy of Sciences in mind. On July 6, just before leaving Berlin for his vacation at the Austrian spa Gastein, he wrote to Chamisso who had experience and interest in the South Sea island languages: "... with your kind permission I am sending you my treatise on the South Sea island languages. Please return it to me, with your remarks, in September."⁵⁸

Unfortunately it has not yet been established if Chamisso, a visitor to the Hawaiian islands with the Russian *Rurik* expedition under Otto von Kotzebue (1815-1818) also got acquainted with Maitey, at that time or later. These possibilities arose in the 1830s when Maitey was attached to the royal household and Chamisso acted as a botanical consultant for the king. Chamisso's published linguistic work does not refer to Maitey and the fourteen envelopes stuffed with scraps of paper scribbled with lexical items for his planned Hawaiian dictionary⁵⁹ seem to be based on printed material rather than on evidence from a native informant.

In his Academy presentation on January 24, 1828, Humboldt pointed out that he had been able to get some information about the Sandwich island language "through conferences with a young native, Harres

Maitai [sic], who is at present living here.”⁶⁰ Apparently it was also Maitey to whom Humboldt referred in various other discussions of the Hawaiian language. Thus he mentioned, for example, “the young islander” who helped him establish the etymology for Hawaiian numerals based on the root word for “hair”;⁶¹ “the islander in Berlin who always uses [r] for [l];”⁶² “the native who is living here and whose [k] and [t] cannot be clearly identified by Europeans”;⁶³ “the native who happens to be in Berlin.” In the latter case Humboldt had experimented in order to determine the possible existence of doubled consonants in the Hawaiian language.⁶⁴ We may assume that Humboldt referred in all these instances to Maitey, though a second young Hawaiian from a *Seehandlung* ship lived in Berlin around 1830.⁶⁵ Humboldt also compiled and wrote down in his own hand, a list of “random words of the Sandwich language elicited from the native Maitai.”⁶⁶

THE CLUMSY AND NOT FULLY DEVELOPED VOCAL APPARATUS

Erziehungs-Inspector Kopf was a humble man, but he was an effective educator, sympathetic to the problems of disadvantaged youngsters. A report of 1830 reflected his successful work: less than one third of his graduates had become recidivists after leaving his institution.⁶⁷ J. H. Wichern, the foremost correctional educator of nineteenth century Germany, frequently visited Kopf’s *Erziehungshaus* in order to learn from him. “There children can be heard singing all day long”, Wichern reported.⁶⁸ If nothing else, Maitey must have enjoyed the music at the institution, for he was known for humming and singing whenever the occasion arose.⁶⁹ Kopf showed great understanding for Maitey for he was deeply touched by the foreigner’s friendly disposition which prevailed in spite of the communication problem. Gradually, Kopf got more and more involved in Maitey’s education.

From June through October 1827 Maitey stayed in the *Erziehungshaus* where he was treated as a special pupil, a boarder at the Kopf’s rather than a resident of the institution. He did not take his meals with the other youngsters, but partook in the better fare at Kopf’s table, which included a daily bottle of *Weissbier*,⁷⁰ a Berlin specialty brew. He was also permitted to wear his own clothes rather than the institutional uniform, and bedding for him was furnished by the Rother household. But in spite of the preferential treatment he was homesick for his *hānai* family and the life at Gendarmenmarkt.

Kopf was aware that Maitey had little in common with the other boys at the *Erziehungshaus*, but he was in no position to argue with Rother. Instead he tried to accelerate his special pupil’s preparation for baptism

and confirmation. He worked many extra hours with Maitey and at the same time he pleaded with Pastor Röttscher for his early acceptance in catechism class. Kopf also pleaded on Maitey's behalf for his return to the Rother household and he recommended reduced school hours for him. All this was granted by Rother in hopes of Maitey's imminent acceptance into the Christian community.

But Pastor Röttscher turned out to be more narrow minded than Kopf had bargained for. Two months before the expected date of baptism and confirmation he informed Kopf that he had not been able to "teach Maitey the necessary concepts of the Christian doctrine and that his persisting weakness in the German language prevented him from comprehending such dogmas as the salvation of man through Christ and the coming of the Holy Spirit." Maitey was refused further attendance of catechism class until his understanding of German got to a level warranting readmittance. Kopf had to convey the bad news to Rother. To soften the blow he suggested a return to the extended class schedule, thereby admitting the failure of his own relaxed attitude toward Maitey's formal schooling. There was no immediate written reaction by Rother but when he finally did reply on March 20, 1828, he not only ordered considerably longer classes for Maitey, he also asked Kopf to accept the latter, as had been the case during the preceding summer, full time at the *Erziehungshaus* while Rother's family "was going to Silesia."⁷¹

After the Rother's Silesian summer vacation of 1828, Maitey was not invited to join them again at their Gendarmenmarkt home. This time Kopf did not dare to put in a good word for Maitey's return to them. Instead Maitey remained at the *Erziehungshaus*, away from the activities in the city. For Maitey the years 1828 and 1829 became an uninterrupted preparation for his acceptance into the Church. To him, this eventual acceptance apparently also meant his return to Rother—at least that is how the only existing letter written and signed by Maitey can be interpreted:

Right Honorable Sir, Mr. President,

For the New Year I wish your Honor much luck and many blessings; health and joy. I shall be very good and studious in order to be baptized before long. Once I am baptized I'll stay always with my dear Mr. President and I'll serve him loyally and my Mr. President will love me forever.

Harry Maitey

A Sandwich Islander⁷²

January 1, 1829

Whatever the reasons might have been for Maitey to leave the Hawaiian islands, by sailing to Prussia he had not chosen the easiest way to become a Christian. In Hawaii the American missionaries had learned the language of their future converts in order to provide them with

primers, hymns, and Bible passages in their native tongue. In Hawaii acceptance into the Church was by no means a matter of routine, but the intellectual side of the Christian faith did not weigh quite so heavily as it did in Berlin just at that time. Since 1817, the 300th anniversary of the Reformation, Frederick William III had been pushing for the unification of the Lutheran and the Reformed [Calvinist] Churches in Prussia.⁷³ This action resulted in constant arguments among the clergy about points of doctrine and consequently, some ministers became very demanding of their catechism classes.

The instruction was difficult enough for the average catechumens, but for somebody to whom language and culture were foreign, the difficulties must have been unsurmountable. To prepare for confirmation required not only understanding of concepts but also a great amount of memorization of the catechism. Actually, Maitey was very good at memorizing because that was part of his Hawaiian culture. His impromptu chanting at the 1824 exhibition had been so lengthy that his Prussian audience ran out of patience. But now he had to recite the articles of faith as pertinent responses to random questions while he was cut off from his own language and cultural frame of reference. Ironically, about that time the first religious texts in the Hawaiian language began to find their way from the Honolulu missionary translators and printers into the libraries of Berlin linguists such as Wilhelm von Humboldt and Chamisso.⁷⁴

Kopf attempted to analyze Maitey's learning problems. He meant well and proffered some vague eighteenth century notions about the goodness of nature in order to characterize his special pupil and to set him in a favorable light in comparison with the other pupils. In the area of second-language learning, however, he pointed in the wrong direction. Instead of realizing that Maitey's difficulty with German might lie in the differences of the sound and sentence structure of Hawaiian and German, Kopf found fault with his student's "clumsy and not fully developed vocal apparatus."⁷⁵ It did not dawn on Kopf, or he considered it irrelevant in German-speaking Prussia, that Maitey's vocal apparatus was as good as any for speaking Hawaiian.

Considering the prevailing notions about "childlike" languages and "languages that are still in the stage of their early childhood",⁷⁶ Kopf's diagnosis was an understandable conclusion, although erroneous and detrimental to Maitey's further development. Basically, Rother had a much better understanding for the problem. In the rough draft of a letter to the king he first wrote that Maitey's difficulties to speak German were "due to the fact that his vocal apparatus was not accustomed to this language." Then he amended this sentence by adding that Maitey's vocal organs might be congenitally defective.⁷⁷ This afterthought he

obviously wrote down under the impression of Kopf's "professional" evaluation of Maitey's abilities.

On April 15, 1829, Kopf finally could give Rother the good news that Pastor Hossbach was willing to accept Maitey, along with the boys of the institution, for catechism classes.⁷⁸ Ironically, Hossbach was the minister whom Rother had originally in mind for the instruction and the ceremony, and without the "helpful" interference of the eager Kopf, Maitey might have saved himself much trouble. Hossbach was younger and more broadminded than Rötcher, and he had a higher position in the Church. If Rother was happy about the prospect, his response to the good news was cautious and a bit grouchy. For some reason he also suggested that Kopf arrange for a much earlier date for Maitey's baptism and confirmation.⁷⁹ Somehow the *aloha* around Maitey had worn thin.

THE HARD WAY TO SALVATION

Another misunderstanding between Rother and Maitey was still to come. Late in 1829, after many months at Kopf's *Erziehungshaus*, Maitey was asked to help during a dinner party at the Rother's. Unfortunately, there was wine around and Maitey drank of it without permission and without discretion. Being used to nothing stronger than the *Weissbier* at Mr. Kopf's table, Maitey's usual poise gave way, with altercations the inevitable result. One of the servants had tried to cheat Maitey out of a silver *Taler* tip, and, unexpectedly, Maitey told him off, loudly and clearly. Rother was called to the scene, but the sight of him did not soothe Maitey at all. Instead he reacted with a poorly articulated outburst, the violence of which said more than its words.

According to Kopf's later interpretation, the whole incident was motivated by Maitey's disappointment over the curtailed *hānai* relationship between Maitey and Rother, a condition aggravated by idle gossip. Maitey had learned enough German to become the easy prey of Rother's servants and tradesmen, especially his shoemaker, who told him that he was not taken care of by Rother but by the "king's privy purse". Whatever "the king's privy purse" might have conjured up in Maitey's mind, the rude cancelling-out of Rother from his life must have frightened and frustrated Maitey.⁸⁰

Another important factor should be mentioned which might shed a different light on Maitey's unusual behavior during the dinner party. On October 2, 1829, the *Vossische Zeitung* reported a new exhibition at the *Seehandlung* where articles brought back from the 1825-1829 world voyage were on display:

Finally we must mention a rare item of historical importance. Among the many costumes of foreign peoples, a royal cloak of the ruler of the Sandwich islands is exhibited. It is made of red and yellow feathers which are a royal prerogative; the cloak's special value, however, lies in the fact that a famous ancestor of the present king had worn this cloak in numerous battles which made him the ruler of all the islands.⁸¹

The party at Rother's brought Maitey to the *Seehandlung* building, where he had not been for many months. Passing through the exhibition on his way up to the Rother apartment, he was unexpectedly confronted with the feather cloak, the great Kamehameha's 'ahu'ula.⁸² Maitey had been about ten years old at Kamehameha's death in 1819, old enough to be imbued with awe of the powerful ruler, and the emotional experience of recollecting Hawaiian greatness, beauty, and terror under such a symbol as the feather cloak may have thrown Maitey off balance and temporarily modified his behavior toward everybody around him.

Whatever the cause of his outburst, Maitey was sent back to the *Erziehungshaus* in a state of "total inebriation",⁸³ and Rother ordered a whole list of severe punishments to be inflicted on him: caning; a week's incarceration on bread and water; withdrawal of the privilege of eating at Kopf's table and relegation to the table of the other pupils. Fortunately Kopf intervened and cleared up some of the misunderstandings. As the result, Rother commuted the punishment to three days' incarceration and relegation to a separate table at meals, neither at Kopf's nor at the other pupils', and Maitey was not to be caned. Kopf was requested to reproach Maitey and to impress on him the enormity of his transgression.

In his report on the results of the chastisement, Kopf emphasized Maitey's understanding of the wrong which he had committed and his sincere contrition, and he quoted him, "I will gladly suffer the lashings which I am supposed to get, I am willing to eat with the pupils in the institution and do the straw weavings along with them. I'll even wear their uniform if only the President will forgive me and permit me to visit his son." The lengthy letter from Kopf to Rother gave some indications of the heart-rending scenes which had taken place between Maitey and Mr. and Mrs. Kopf, especially while Maitey had to listen to the comparison of the originally dictated punishment and its modified form. In his delayed reply to Kopf's report, Rother indicated that he might be approachable, sometime in the future, by a fully rehabilitated Maitey.

In this atmosphere of penitence and contrition the long hoped-for event finally came near. Pastor Hossbach was willing to baptize and to confirm Maitey on Friday, April 23, 1830, in a private ceremony with nobody present but the neophyte and the witnesses. Rother asked Inspector Kopf and *Stadtrat* Hollmann to be, along with himself,

witnesses and godfathers. Hollmann was the man who had had the original idea of establishing the *Erziehungshaus* to which he donated a considerable sum. To Maitey, the ceremony meant, among other things, a memorable return to his old neighborhood, Gendarmenmarkt, because he was baptized and confirmed at *Neue Kirche* which stood at the southern end of the square. Yet relations had changed: on this occasion it was Kopf, and not Rother, who acted as Maitey's mentor, though Rother and the *Seehandlung* provided the customary set of new clothes.⁸⁴

The catechumen from the Sandwich islands must have looked very dignified in his new dark suit, top hat and white gloves.⁸⁵ In 1830, dress shirts with enormous stand-up collars, "*Vatermörder*", were the height of fashion, and undoubtedly Maitey was dressed in that manner. At the christening, Maitey was given the German names, Heinrich Wilhelm, in spite of the king's previous objections, but Frederick William III probably had forgotten that detail anyhow.⁸⁶ Afterwards, Maitey received a gold coin from one of his godfathers, and then Kopf accompanied the "new Christian" to partake, with the regular pupils of the *Erziehungshaus* who had been confirmed separately, in the Lord's Supper.⁸⁷ At the end of the day, Maitey returned with Kopf to the *Erziehungshaus* outside the Halle Gate, his dream of "forever staying with his dear Mr. President" in the stately house at Gendarmenmarkt not having materialized.

ISLANDERS ARE ASSIGNED TO ISLANDS

Rother immediately informed the king that the *Mentor's* Sandwich islander had been baptized and confirmed, and he recommended him for services in some agency related to the royal household. Again Rother characterized Maitey as good-natured, loyal, neat, and conscientious.⁸⁸ Now the king was willing to avail himself of Maitey's services and to grant him an annual income of 300 *Talers*, starting July 1, 1830. He was to report to the *Hofmarschall*, or lord chamberlain, Baron von Maltzahn, for a job interview as a messenger.⁸⁹

Maitey presented himself, on the specified day, accompanied by the eager Kopf, but the *Hofmarschall* was not present. Instead, his subordinate, Privy Councilor Bussler, took it upon himself to examine the applicant, and it was one of the strangest civil service examinations ever. First Bussler questioned him about Prussian titles and how they ranked hierarchically. Maitey had never heard of most of them, though as a Hawaiian he must have been well aware of the hierarchical concepts which were most important in his native culture. Then Maitey was handed a number of scribbled messages and dispatches, and he had to

decipher addresses and illegible signatures. Here, the candidate failed, too.

Based on this examination, Bussler considered the applicant inappropriate for the position. Kopf, as usual, intervened in Maitey's behalf and promised to prepare him for his specific chores, but Bussler did not take the risk. Instead, he hit on a bright idea. Since Maitey was an islander he belonged best on an island, and *Pfaueninsel*, Peacock Island, a favorite spot of the king's in the river Havel between Berlin and Potsdam, was in need of personnel such as a ferryman. Accompanied by the ever optimistic Kopf, Maitey reported to *Pfaueninsel*, where he was to spend the next three years.⁹⁰

It will remain an unanswered question why Maitey was not invited, at this point, to join the third *Seehandlung* voyage around the world in the course of which he could have returned to his native islands. He was a Christian now, a young man with a demeanor pleasing to simple and to high-class people alike, and his presence on the *Seehandlung* ship *Princess Louise* would have added a personal touch to the royal gifts from the Prussian king to the ruler of the Sandwich islands. Instead, Maitey was sent to *Pfaueninsel* in August 1830, at the very moment when the presents, parade uniforms, saddles, swords and miscellaneous finery were dispatched from Berlin.⁹¹

On the other hand, together with Kamehameha's feather cloak, two Sandwich islanders had left Honolulu in 1828 when the *Princess Louise* was on her maiden voyage. One of these Hawaiians never reached Germany. According to Supercargo Oswald's diary, he died during the long, stormy trip between Java and St. Helena, "completely debilitated from dysentery." He was described as young and handsome, and it was with "sincere regrets" that the German sailors lowered his remains into the sea. "He was a delightful, gentle boy who deserved a better lot", Oswald concluded.⁹² His companion, Jony Kahopimeai, reached Berlin sometime in the fall of 1829, but not much fanfare was made of him. He was put immediately in Mr. Kopf's *Erziehungshaus* where he was treated, by order of Rother, "like the other pupils." Thus, for about eight months, Maitey had a Hawaiian companion, though Jony's disposition, his talents and his fate were very different from Maitey's. From the beginning it was decided that Jony was to be converted to Christianity, trained as a locksmith and then returned to Hawaii, as a present from one king to another.

For several months, therefore, Kopf had to work with two Hawaiians, and through his comparisons and contrasts of the two a better picture of Maitey is obtained. According to Kopf, Jony had a superior mind and many talents. He made greater scholastic progress in one week than

Maitey did in eight months. Jony was short-tempered and hard to handle, in contrast to the goodnatured Maitey; he was not so neat and orderly as Maitey but also without the latter's vanity. Jony constantly had to be closely supervised while Maitey was willing to follow orders once the circumstances had been explained to him. Jony got sick more frequently than Maitey, perhaps an after-effect of his long scurvy-ridden voyage on the *Princess Louise*. Jony had to be satisfied with the inferior institutional food at the *Erziehungshaus*, while Maitey ate at Kopf's table. According to Kopf, Jony was always craving fresh fruit, and he felt cold because he had to wear the flimsy uniform. No tailormade suits having been ordered for him.

Unfortunately, Maitey soon lost his companion. The compounded deprivations and the harsh Berlin winter climate were too much for Jony: after a visit to Rother's house in February 1831, he came down with pneumonia, and though Maitey was called from *Pfaueninsel* to lift his compatriot's spirits, Jony was dead before the month was over. The "pitiable youth, still unbaptized" was buried "*per dimissoriale*" (on hallowed ground by special permission because he was still a heathen) on March 2, 1831.⁹³

PEACOCK ISLAND, UTOPIA PRUSSIAN STYLE

Pfaueninsel, "Peacock Island" in translation, was small, about one mile long and 1,500 feet wide, but replete with exotic trees and shrubs, with unusual animals—furred and feathered—, with bizarre buildings and extraordinary people. Its past had been filled with secretive happenings: in the seventeenth century it was the hide-away of Johannes Kunckel, a chemist (though most of his contemporaries considered him an alchemist) who had tried to distill instant riches for the Great Elector of Brandenburg. His bubbling retorts had yielded artificial rubies—the vital currency for Brandenburg's 17th century trading ventures with African tribes. Of a different type were the secretive affairs of Frederick William II in the eighteenth century; for this ruler an instant ruin had been built, a twinturreted castle with a circular "Otaheitian" room in one of its towers, planned for amorous respites from the duties of government. Unfortunately, the king passed away before the castle's completion. Then, on May 2, 1810, *Pfaueninsel* was the site of a decisive political meeting. During Prussia's lowest phase in the Napoleonic wars, the royal couple, Frederick William III and Louise, had met behind the back of Napoleon with their ousted foreign minister Hardenberg to plan steps for Prussia's revival.

After 1815, when peace had finally returned, the king ordered major landscaping of the island. Rose-bushes, trees from all over the globe,

and on the recommendation of Alexander von Humboldt, a whole collection of palms were transplanted to the island.

A fishpond and a menagerie were also features of the island. "Princes from countries close by and far away were competing to please the king with presents of rare animals of all kinds."⁹⁴ Peacocks strutted all over the park, and the aviaries had to be expanded because of the ever growing bird families. In the summer of 1834, "two big ducks—or geese—" arrived through the services of the *Seehandlung*. They had come all the way from Hawaii on the *Princess Louise*, and since these birds were not so colorful or bizarre as one would have expected from that fabled archipelago, the company's officials tried their best to point out their value and scarcity. "These birds are sighted only very rarely near the volcano of Owhyhie . . . and Captain Wendt spent ten Spanish Dollars for their purchase." To stress the importance of this acquisition, the expert opinion of the zoologist Lichtenstein was also elicited, and according to him, "not more than one other bird of that kind existed [outside of Hawaii]—and if there was one at all, it had to be found in London." These two geese, about which even President Rother made a written statement,⁹⁵ were indeed of a very rare species, of the now almost extinct Hawaiian goose, or *nene*.⁹⁶

To keep this collection of exotica viable, greater amounts of water were needed than the wells of the little piece of ground were able to provide. A steam engine was installed to pump water up from the surrounding river. An engine master of Alsatian origin, Franciscus Joseph Friedrich, was hired to keep the engine intact and to control the irrigation system, which included a fountain, fifty feet high, duck ponds and artificial waterfalls. He was also responsible for the more delicate and complicated repairs in the castle, its supportive buildings, and in the zoological and botanical structures.⁹⁷

In the summer of 1830, when Inspector Kopf received the order to take Maitey to *Pfaueninsel*, it was specified that the latter had been assigned to engine master Friedrich.⁹⁸ At the same time, the books on "the *Mentor's* Sandwich islander" were closed at the Maritime company and he was taken over by the royal household where he was listed as a "ward of the king" and an "assistant to the engine master." As varied needs arose, Friedrich trained Maitey in the skills of a wood turner, a locksmith, and a cabinetmaker, and the new assistant was very good at these assignments which took him all over the island, from the fancy little dairy farm at the north end to the castle in the south. Because of his tidiness, Maitey was also an excellent choice as a worker around the engine house where the king and the courtiers liked to drop in and where they expected to find the marvelous new-fangled contraption not only in

working condition but also clean and shiny, serviced by an interesting attendant. One of the performances of the steam engine which the assistant had to demonstrate was the pumping of water into a high fountain whence a thick stream of water cascaded down from one cast-iron basin into the next.⁹⁹ These assignments were a definite improvement over *Hofrat* Bussler's initial suggestion which would have tied Maitey to the ferry that was forever shuttling across a narrow stretch of murky water.¹⁰⁰

Two or three days of the week the island was open to the public, and people from Berlin and Potsdam came by carriage and by *char-à-bancs*, on foot and by boat, sometimes up to six thousand visitors per day: school children, whole families, and soldiers came to enjoy the park and to look at the animals, and to catch a glimpse of members of the court or of some of the unusual permanent residents of the island, because "the colorful, whimsical diversions of Peacock Island were intensified by the presence of giants, dwarfs, blackamoors and the Sandwich islander Maitey."¹⁰¹ The remainder of the week the place was off limits to the public, mainly to ensure privacy to the royal family and their entourage, and to guarantee unhampered progress for the royal building projects.

About the time of Maitey's arrival, a huge greenhouse for the palm collection was under construction. Schinkel, the architect of the Royal Theater at Gendarmenmarkt, Maitey's first neighborhood in Berlin, directed the work. To give an appropriate setting to the palms "which were unequalled by any European greenhouse," the king had acquired, from a British general, an authentic pagoda sculptured in Burmese marble. This structure had been lifted from its original environment in Bengal, taken apart, and on the island recombined with other components to function as a greenhouse. For the next half century, "the exotic splendor of the palm conservatory stunned every visitor. Even Alexander von Humboldt fell into nostalgic reveries of the remote and inaccessible luxuriance of the Orinoco."¹⁰² Actually, Humboldt's presence on *Pfaueninsel* was more a matter of duty than of personal predilection: as a chamberlain to the Prussian king Humboldt had to accompany the latter on most of his trips, and that included frequent outings to this whimsically equipped island. The palm conservatory and its plants were destroyed by fire in 1880 shortly before Kalakaua, king of the Sandwich islands, visited Potsdam and Berlin, but two paintings by Blechen have preserved some of the "mysteriously foreign atmosphere" of the place.¹⁰³

To match the exquisite botanical acquisition, Frederick William III agreed to a major purchase for the island's menagerie. In 1831, just in

time to give the recently arrived Maitey the full benefit of watching the happening, a lion arrived. As so often in purveying exotica for the king, this feat was accomplished through the services and business connections of the *Seehandlung*. Its business partner on the island of St. Thomas secured the lion, and a *Seehandlung* ship brought the animal to Hamburg. There, Consul, and erstwhile Supercargo, Oswald directed the transfer of the leonine cargo onto the river steamer *Henriette* which docked directly at *Pfaueninsel*. President Rother personally advised the court of the beast's time of arrival and the king himself was present to inspect the unloading.¹⁰⁴

Such was the setting in which Maitey spent his first years outside of Berlin, away from several alarming events which befell the rapidly growing city: the tailors' uprising of 1830 and the cholera epidemic of 1831 which killed 14,000 Berliners.

MAITEY TAKES A BRIDE

When Maitey first made his home on *Pfaueninsel*, his compatriot Jony had occasionally visited him. But there were only a few months left of Jony's life. In contrast to Maitey, Jony was disturbed by this island and got into a very bad emotional state on *Pfaueninsel*. Long after death Jony was remembered as the "Sandwich islander who ran around homesick and in despair."¹⁰⁵ Maitey got acquainted with some of the residents: a giant by the name of Licht and a pair of dwarfs, brother and sister, called Strakon,¹⁰⁶ and Hermann Johann Becker, one of the men who had to look after the animals.

Maitey hit it off splendidly with father Becker—too well, in some people's opinion—but when he saw Becker's daughter Dorothea Charlotte as she was feeding the peacocks and the waterfowl, he promptly fell in love with her. At least that was the way the story was told in later years.¹⁰⁷ She was sixteen, and a courtship began which became unduly prolonged because Maitey needed a document, a royal marriage consent. For months he was unable to get his application through the cordon of flunkies who surrounded the king. One day Maitey was given the oral promise that his case would be presented to the king and the next day he would be advised to wait a while, considering his youth and the financial burden of married life. In his eagerness he had already bought furniture and household utensils. He was very much in love and he was tired of living next door to the Friedrich couple, alone in the engine house in a small poorly furnished room.

Eventually, in 1833, Maitey turned to Rother, and in a long letter poured out his despair and asked him, for the sake of their long-standing

hānai relationship, for help in obtaining the marriage consent. Rother had been aware of his young friend's nuptial plans and he was familiar with the delaying tactics at the court. He accepted the letter at face value though neither its wording, longwinded and with awkward allusions to Maitey's hot temperament, nor its signature were actually Maitey's own. Maitey must have found somebody who was receptive to his problem and able to formulate his plea, somebody who spelled the applicant's name "Meidey".¹⁰⁸

Rother immediately took the case in hand and secured the desired response from the royal household. Within two months, Maitey not only received the marriage consent from the king, but his annual income was increased from 300 to 350 *Talers*.¹⁰⁹ Also, during one of his sojourns on the island, the king deigned to have the interestingly matched young couple presented to him, though not much of a conversation developed at that occasion.¹¹⁰

BETWEEN BIG CASTLES AND MINIATURES

Equipped with the royal consent, in addition to his baptismal certificate of April 1830, (the latter also documenting his "given" birthday as April 23, 1807)¹¹¹ Maitey went ahead with the wedding plans. There was no church on *Pfaueninsel*. After a ferry trip the island residents had to walk three miles over roads that were muddy in the winter and dusty in the summer to the halftimbered medieval church of the fishing village of Stolpe. There services were held whenever a minister from Potsdam was willing to make the long trip. In spite of these difficulties that church was the choice for the Maitey-Becker wedding, mainly because the bride was a native of Stolpe. The ceremony took place on August 28, 1833, exactly a month after the marriage consent had been issued. Later in the century, the venerable little church had to be replaced by a new structure, but the church register with the entry of Maitey's name¹¹² still exists.

Since housing on *Pfaueninsel* was very limited, Maitey and his bride had to find quarters elsewhere. They moved to Klein-Glienicke, which had about three hundred inhabitants and was located two and a half miles downstream from *Pfaueninsel*. There the river formed several lakes and was bordered by wooded hills. The beauty of the area had always attracted the rich and the noble who built small summer seats next to the ancient village. In Maitey's time, the king's two youngest sons were keeping Schinkel and his successors busy with their building projects. Prince Carl had an Italian villa and gallery constructed and the spacious park around it dotted with waterfalls, fountains, ruins and gazeboes.



Maitey's benefactor, Rother



Maitey family grave marker in the cemetery opposite Pfaueninsel.

For Prince William, later Emperor William I, Schinkel built a castellated mansion, after those then fashionable in England. It was located on the opposite bank of the water. The Maiteys lived in a small cottage "on Prince Carl's side", half way up the hill.¹¹³

Maitey travelled daily from Klein-Glienicke to *Pfaueninsel* where he was still employed. In the summer, he could catch a boat at Glienicke bridge and disembark, half an hour later, at the *Pfaueninsel* pier. Sometimes he could hitch a ride with the vehicles that worked for the king's or the princes' households. Maitey had reasons for going to *Pfaueninsel* other than work. For one thing, his in-laws were still living there, and he remained on good terms with them.¹¹⁴ And after 1837, Maitey also went to church near *Pfaueninsel*. With the inauguration of St. Peter and Paul's, a new, far-flung parish was created, combining *Pfaueninsel* and Klein-Glienicke. While the parish house was next to Maitey's in Klein-Glienicke, the church stood opposite *Pfaueninsel*, hidden in the pine forest hills. The atmosphere in this basilica-like structure with its Russian onion dome—an expression of the close family ties between Frederick William and the czar—must have been truly eucumenical when Maitey's voice could be heard harmonizing with the organ in his own inimitable Hawaiian way.¹¹⁵

On December 2, 1837, a son was born to the Maitey couple, and no less than eight godparents, including Mrs. Rother, surrounded little Heinrich Wilhelm Otto at the baptismal font of St. Peter and Paul's.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, he died as an infant, a fate which he shared with a younger sister, Friederike Wilhelmine, born in 1846. A second son, Heinrich Wilhelm Eduard, born December 8, 1839, survived both his parents and he had children of his own.¹¹⁷

Though several exotic persons were attached at one time or another to the court facilities on or near *Pfaueninsel*, only Maitey became known as "the king's" Sandwich islander, and he seems to have been treated accordingly. A very casual approach to Maitey's work under master Friedrich developed throughout the years. The king must have given his blessings to this most un-Prussian state of affairs, and one might surmise that his sophisticated attitude developed under the influence of Alexander von Humboldt. As the king's chamberlain and cultural advisor, Humboldt had many opportunities to share his knowledge about other peoples with Frederick William III, and his successor, Frederick William IV. Also, in his later years Maitey took sick quite easily, and walking through the marshy meadows between Klein-Glienicke and *Pfaueninsel* may have had a bad effect on his health. To let him work at his own discretion was a kindness extended to him throughout the four decades which he spent at *Pfaueninsel* and Klein-Glienicke.¹¹⁸

The only person who was unhappy about Maitey's increasing absence from *Pfaueninsel* was master Friedrich. He insisted for years on the original arrangement between the master and his assistant and gradually attempted to establish an increased guardianship over Maitey. To get his "assistant" back under closer supervision, Friedrich suggested, ten years after Maitey's relocation to Klein-Glienicke, that the latter be assigned a vacant apartment on the island. When this suggestion was ignored, Friedrich filed an official complaint about the continual absenteeism of the "New Zealander" [sic] Maitey. Friedrich's open and veiled complaints about Maitey were squelched and the latter was officially assigned to the royal *Garten Inspektor* Fintelmann who was a close friend of the Maitey family.¹¹⁹

Master Friedrich had a reason for trying to keep Maitey close to his workshop. During his spare time, and especially when bad weather kept the court away from the island, Friedrich pursued the artful hobby of building miniature replicas of famous castles and cathedrals. These collector's items were highly appreciated by the Prussian king and his son-in-law, Czar Nicholas I. For each miniature, ten to twelve thousand minute parts had to be cut from ivory and mother-of-pearl.¹²⁰ Apparently Maitey contributed much to these little masterpieces by carving the needed components with dexterity and patience. It seems plausible that he had acquired an expert skill at carving fishhooks and spearheads when he was a child in Hawaii, for it was not unusual that "children who showed an interest in, and aptitude for, crafts or other specialized occupations, were apprenticed at some time in their first ten or twelve years."¹²¹ The materials used in Hawaii and in master Friedrich's workshop were similar (bones and shells, ivory and mother-of-pearl). Whittling and carving were also regular pastimes of the sailors during long voyages, and it can be assumed that Maitey had picked up additional carving skills when he was on the *Mentor*.

While master Friedrich gained much attention and honor for the miniatures, he neglected to give Maitey his share of credit, much to the annoyance of Maitey's descendants. Caesar von der Ahé, a writer interested in the history of the Potsdam area, claimed that Friedrich "started all the fine ivory and mother-of-pearl carvings . . . after Maitey's arrival at his house and discontinued them when Maitey did not work anymore for him." Von der Ahé also attributed other artistic works to Maitey:

Visitors at the castles at Paretz and Pfaueninsel are intrigued by some yellow room dividers, or screens. According to the legend, Queen Louise's children cut out the little figures and pasted them on the screens. The files, however, show that Friedrich has been credited as the artist, and if one pursues the case a bit further one gets here, too,

the idea that Friedrich was the master but Maitey must have been the artist with the sensitive hands.¹²²

By assuming all the credit for himself, Friedrich acted only according to the time-honored prerogative of a master vis-à-vis his apprentice, and young Maitey probably did not worry half as much about it as did later generations. On the other hand, the records are set straight in the current guide booklet for *Pfaueninsel*:

Until 1945, seven models in ivory and mother-of-pearl were exhibited in the stairwell [of *Pfaueninsel* castle]. They were created between 1832 and 1846 by engine master Friedrich, probably with the help of his assistant, Harry Maitey, a South Sea islander. These models were: the *Pfaueninsel* castle, the Werder church in Berlin, the Russian chapel of Alexander Newski at Potsdam, the church at Nikolskoe, and the church at Sacrow. Each miniature consisted of ten to twelve thousand small parts.¹²³

None of these small masterpieces has been located after their disappearance at the end of World War II.

1848

In 1848, Maitey was about forty years old and still living in Klein-Glienicke, occasionally working at *Pfaueninsel* which had lost its importance with the death of Frederick William III in 1840. Early in the spring of 1848, everything was quiet and sleepy on the Havel river and in the little fishing villages, while the barricades of the revolution were going up in Berlin. For a while the unrest in the city seemed to subside, but then civilians and soldiers collided and there were numerous wounded and dead. As the anger of the Berliners turned against Prince William, King Frederick William IV had to arrange a hasty visit to Queen Victoria in London for him. Secretly the prince slipped out of Berlin and hid at *Pfaueninsel* before making his next move: he went to Klein-Glienicke where he was met by a trusted officer, and then the two were off, under disguise, for Hamburg. There they hid in the attic of a small hotel, from which they were rescued by William O'Swald, Prussian Consul General in Hamburg. It is doubtful that Maitey was aware of the flight that passed by right under his nose, but it is noteworthy that Consul General O'Swald was Maitey's oldest Prussian acquaintance. In Honolulu, twenty-five years earlier, the then supercargo with the simple German name Wilhelm Oswald had shown understanding when a Hawaiian lad asked to come aboard the departing frigate *Mentor*, and now, during the revolution of 1848, he was assisting the future German Emperor William I, as "Mr. Smith", to get on the steamer *John Bull* to London.¹²⁴

Oswald had also been the supercargo of the *Seehandlung* ship *Princess Louise* during her maiden voyage 1825-1829, returning "not only with

the seed money for his wealth but transformed into 'Mr. William O'Swald'."¹²⁵ Hawaii had been a contributing factor in his rise because of his successful involvement in the sandalwood trade.

This brief mention of the year 1848 calls for a note about Rother, Maitey's former host, guardian and benefactor in Berlin. After becoming Prussian Minister of Finance in 1837 and being named an "Honorary Citizen" of Berlin in 1847, Rother experienced a sudden eclipse in 1848. Amidst a series of financial setbacks which had developed for the *Seehandlung*, Rother retired from all his offices a few days after the spring uprising. He died the following year at the age of seventy, at his Silesian estate, Rogau.¹²⁶

" . . . DIED AT AGE SIXTY-FOUR, A PENSIONER OF THE KING"

For the rest of his life Maitey remained in Klein-Glienicke. Until 1864, only the change of the seasons and the arrivals and departures of the royal family brought some variation into the uneventful existence of the villagers. From 1864 on, Prussia's successive campaigns against Denmark, Austria, and France added austerity to the village.

At the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war in 1871, Prince Frederick Charles ordered reforestation of the land around his hunting lodge *Dreilinden* [three linden trees] near Klein-Glienicke, and French prisoners held at Spandau fortress, a few miles up the Havel river, were enlisted for the tree planting. Unfortunately, an outbreak of smallpox occurred during the reforestation and Maitey fell victim to the disease.¹²⁷ He died at his home in Klein-Glienicke, Kurfürstenstrasse 10, on February 26, 1872, "a pensioner of the king, at the age of sixty-four."¹²⁸

A small cemetery in a grove opposite *Pfaueninsel* became Maitey's final resting place. His wife who survived him by seventeen years, and his in-laws, were buried near him. They all were commemorated on the same granite cross inscribed on the front "Here rest in God the Sandwich Islander Maitey, 1872, and his wife Dorothy Becker Maitey, 1889"; and on the reverse "Here rest in God the animal keeper Becker and his wife. They are the in-laws of the Sandwich Islander Maitey".¹²⁹ In a *Guide to the Graves of Famous Personalities in Berlin and Potsdam* Maitey is mentioned and described:

Maitey. Sandwich Islander. Died 1872. He came to Prussia on the Bremen ship *Mentor* in 1824. Under the patronage of King Frederick William III he was trained a skillful wood turner, locksmith, and cabinetmaker. Maitey was probably the artist of several miniature replicas, in ivory and mother-of-pearl, representing famous buildings.¹³⁰

PRINCE KAPARENA, KING KALAKAUA

Maitey's son Eduard was convinced that his father had been a Hawaiian prince, and apparently an abducted one. On his deathbed, in 1906, Eduard Maitey asked his physician, Dr. Netto, to write his father's sad life story. Dr. Netto was not able to fulfill his patient's last wish, but shortly before World War II, two well researched and informative articles on the Sandwich islander Maitey were published in popular periodicals.¹³¹ The author of the articles, Caesar von der Ahé, had access to the then still intact files of the Prussian state archives in Berlin-Dahlem, and at Klein-Glienicke von der Ahé met several oldtimers whose recollections about Maitey he recorded.¹³²

Von der Ahé expressed doubts about the rumors that Maitey "had been a member of the ruling house in Honolulu, abducted and retained by force."

Much speaks against the assumption that Maitey was a Hawaiian prince named Kaparena: Frederick William III and the Hawaiian ruler exchanged gifts and letters and both put great value on expressions of kindness. Besides, King Frederick William III had an aversion to acts of injustice.¹³³

Von der Ahé made no attempts to explain how, or when, the rumor about Maitey's status of nobility had started. No hint about Maitey's rank can be found in his *Seehandlung* file.¹³⁴

In his interviews at Klein-Glienicke, von der Ahé did not take into account that a royal visitor from Hawaii had spent, in 1881, several days in Berlin, Potsdam, and Klein-Glienicke. During that summer, the Hawaiian King Kalakaua was on his trip around the world, and in Germany received a "cordial welcome" from several princes and their families.¹³⁵ At Potsdam he was entertained by the future Emperor William II and his young bride, and a gala dinner in his honor was given by Prince Charles at Klein-Glienicke.¹³⁶

Though nine years had passed after Maitey's death, the visit of a Hawaiian king to Klein-Glienicke must have brought back memories of the longtime resident from the Sandwich islands. Maitey's widow was still living in the village, when in the afternoon of August 2, 1881, courtiers and common folk had an opportunity to get a look at the royal visitor.¹³⁷ They could marvel at the likeness of Maitey's and Kalakaua's Polynesian features and muse on the contrast between the pomp surrounding the visitor and the humble existence of the Hawaiian who had spent four decades among them. King Kalakaua's visit very well might have given rise to the lore on Maitey's background, his original Hawaiian name, Kaparena,—unrecorded in Prussian documents—and the circumstances which had brought the *Seehandlung's* Sandwich islander to the little village between *Pfaueninsel* and Potsdam.

NOTES

Abbreviations for German Archives

DZA	Deutsches Zentralarchiv Historische Abteilung II, Merseburg
GStA	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
StAB	Staatsarchiv Bremen
StAH	Staatsarchiv Hamburg

- ¹ *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung* . . . Im Verlage Vossischer Erben, No. 245, October 18, 1824. Hereafter cited as *Vossische Zeitung*.
- ² Ralph Kuykendall, "An Hawaiian in Mexico in 1789-1790," *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (1924), p. 37.
- ³ David Kittelson, "Hawaiians and Fur Traders," *Hawaii Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1963), p. 16.
- ⁴ Journal of Stephen Reynolds, Ms., Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass., microfilm copy, HMCS Library, Honolulu, November 28, 1823, entry. Hereafter cited as Journal Reynolds.
- ⁵ Journal des Schiffes *Mentor* auf der Reise von Bremen nach Swinemunde 1822-1824, Ms., GStA, December 3, 1823, entry. Hereafter cited as Journal *Mentor*.
- ⁶ J. C. H. Wilhelm Oswald, *Erlebnisse von J. C. H. Wilh. Oswald auf seiner ersten Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1822-1824*, printed as manuscript (Hamburg, 1915), StAH, pp. 70-76. Hereafter cited as Oswald, *Erlebnisse 1822-24*. In this journal, reflecting his first, brief stay in Honolulu, Oswald erroneously assumed that Kauikaeuoli was Liholiho's son rather than his younger brother. He also thought that Kalanimoku's name was "Fahamaru". During his second visit he familiarized himself better with people and their names. Cf. note 89.
- ⁷ Journal Reynolds, December 1, 1823, entry; Journal Chamberlain, November 29, 1823, entry; Ross H. Gast and Agnes C. Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* (Honolulu, 1973), p. 285.
- ⁸ Oswald, *Erlebnisse 1822-1824*, p. 71.
- ⁹ Journal of Levi Chamberlain, Ms, HMCS Library November 28, 1823, entry. Hereafter cited as Journal Chamberlain.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Vossische Zeitung*, October 18, 1824; Caesar von der Ahé, "Heinrich Wilhelm Maitey, der Südsee-Insulaner auf der Pfaueninsel," *Heimat und Ferne* Nos. 36-37, September 9 and 16, 1930, no pagination, hereafter cited as von der Ahé, "Heinrich Wilhelm Maitey." Von der Ahé quotes diary entry by Oswald indicating that the *Mentor's* crew was increased by a South Sea islander during the stop at the Sandwich islands. Such a remark cannot be found in Oswald, *Erlebnisse 1822-1824*.
- ¹² Caesar von der Ahé, "Der Hawaiianer auf der Pfaueninsel," *Potsdamer Jahresschau* 1933, p. 30, hereafter cited as von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer."
- ¹³ Oswald, *Erlebnisse 1822-1824*, pp. 58-69, 90.
- ¹⁴ Letter StAB November 8, 1971, to author; Johann Friedrich Meuss, "Die Unternehmungen des Königlichen Seehandlungs-Instituts . . .," *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde an der Universität Berlin* (December 1913), p. 74.
- ¹⁵ Maritime passport for ship *Mentor*, issued in Bremen October 24, 1822. Ms., rough draft, StAB.
- ¹⁶ Journal Reynolds, November 30, 1823, entry.
- ¹⁷ Oswald, *Erlebnisse 1822-1824*, p. 77.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

- ²⁰ James Macrae, *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825* (Honolulu, 1922), p. 4; Frank L. Pleadwell, "Voyage to England of King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu," typescript U.H., p. 9, hereafter cited as Pleadwell, "Voyage."
- ²¹ Oswald, *Erlebnisse 1822-1824*, p. 90.
- ²² Königl. Commissarius und Chef des Seehandlungs-Instituts, Acta den durch das Seehandlungs-Schiff *Mentor* mitgebrachten Sandwich-Insulaner Harry Maitey betreffend, Ms., DZA, documents 1 and 2. Hereafter cited as Acta Maitey.
- ²³ Acta Maitey, document 1.
- ²⁴ For an illustrated description of the building at Maitey's time see W. Kern, "Dienstgebäude des Königlichen Seehandlungs-Societät in Berlin, Jägerstr. 21," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, LII (1902), cols. 365-66. Hereafter cited as Kern, "Dienstgebäude."
- ²⁵ Acta Maitey, document 2.
- ²⁶ *Vossische Zeitung*, October 18, 1824.
- ²⁷ Thomas Blake Clark, *Omai First Polynesian Ambassador to England* (Honolulu, 1969), p. 21.
- ²⁸ *Vossische Zeitung*, October 18, 1824.
- ²⁹ Acta Maitey, document 2.
- ³⁰ Kriminalrat Hitzig, quoted in von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 21.
- ³¹ "The Owyhee Chief," *New Times*, London, November 29, 1820, No. 6082; "A Case Interesting to Humanity," *The Sun*, London, November 24, 1820; both quoted in "Native Hawaiians in London, 1820," *Hawaiian Historical Report 1942* (Honolulu), pp. 13-17.
- ³² Ernst Kelin, *Von der Reform zur Restauration* Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission zu Berlin, Vol. 16 (Berlin, 1965) p. 265 f. Hereafter cited as Klein, *Von der Reform zur Restauration*.
- ³³ Cabinet order, Frederick William III to Rother, July 5, 1825. Ms., GStA.
- ³⁴ Acta Maitey, documents 1-58, spanning the years 1824 to 1833.
- ³⁵ Kern, "Dienstgebäude," col. 363.
- ³⁶ *Vossische Zeitung*, October 18, 1824.
- ³⁷ Letter Rother to Frederick William III, March 14, 1827, Acta Maitey, document 8.
- ³⁸ Acta Maitey contains fourteen bills for shoes and boots, eleven of them payable in Berlin and three in Rogau, Silesia. Documents 4, 5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 26, 27, 50, 51.
- ³⁹ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 23.
- ⁴⁰ Acta Maitey, documents 8 and 43.
- ⁴¹ *Werke* (Zürich, 1965) Vol. 5, pp. 360-381.
- ⁴² Ibid., pp. 251-262.
- ⁴³ The first gas lanterns in Berlin were installed in 1826 on the avenue Unter den Linden. Walter Krumholz, *Berlin-ABC* (Berlin, 1968) p. 676.
- ⁴⁴ Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin, 1907) reprint 1968, Vol. 15, pp. 481 ff, hereafter cited as Wilhelm von Humboldt, Akademie-Edition.
- ⁴⁵ Acta Maitey, document 8.
- ⁴⁶ See note 43.
- ⁴⁷ Elfriede Schüttelpelz, *Staat und Kinderfürsorge in Preussen*, Widmungen des Fürsorge-seminars Universität Frankfurt/Main No. 29, (Berlin-Spandau, 1936) pp. 14-16.
- ⁴⁸ Emil Dominik, "Der Belle Alliance-Platz und seine Umgebung von ehemals und von heute," *Der Bär*, 8 (Berlin 1882) pp. 590-92.
- ⁴⁹ Ludwig Helling, *Taschenbuch von Berlin 1830* (Berlin, 1830) pp. 83-84. Hereafter cited as Helling, *Taschenbuch*.

- ⁵⁰ Acta Maitey, document 8.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, document 9.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, document 11.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, document 10.
- ⁵⁴ Wilhelm von Humboldt, Akademie Edition, Vol. 15, pp. 481-82.
- ⁵⁵ Acta Maitey, document 12.
- ⁵⁶ *Adress Kalender für die Königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam auf das Jahr 1827.*
- ⁵⁷ Wilhelm von Humboldt, Akademie Edition, Vol. 6, p. 332.
- ⁵⁸ Ms., Chamisso-Archiv, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, G.D.R.
- ⁵⁹ Chamisso-Archiv, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, G.D.R.
- ⁶⁰ Wilhelm von Humboldt, Akademie Edition, vol. 6, p. 43.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 228.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 230, footnote.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ Jony Kahopimeai. See chapter 8.
- ⁶⁶ Mentioned as foliae 25-27: "Wörter der Sandwich-Sprache in bunter Ordnung von W.v.Humboldt eigenhändig bei der Vernehmung des Eingeborenen Maitai niedergeschrieben," *Collectanea linguistica* [Wilhelm von Humboldt], ms., Handschriftensammlung Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, G.D.R. Foliae 25-27 are missing since World War II.
- ⁶⁷ Helling, *Taschenbuch*, p. 83.
- ⁶⁸ Johann Hinrich Wichern, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Hamburg, 1901), Vol. 1, p. 263.
- ⁶⁹ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 22.
- ⁷⁰ Acta Maitey, document 25.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, documents 14-16, 21.
- ⁷² Acta Maitey, document 22.
- ⁷³ Frederick Hertz, *The German Public Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Totowa, N.J., 1975), pp. 182-83.
- ⁷⁴ Adelbert von Chamisso, *Über die Hawaiische Sprache*, reprint of the 1837 edition with an introduction by Samuel H. Elbert (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 2-3. Hereafter cited as Chamisso, *Hawaiische Sprache*, reprint 1969.
- ⁷⁵ Acta Maitey, documents 16, 20.
- ⁷⁶ Samuel H. Elbert, "Introduction" in Chamisso, *Hawaiische Sprache*, reprint 1969, pp. IV-V.
- ⁷⁷ Acta Maitey, document 35.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, document 24.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, document 23.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, documents 28-30.
- ⁸¹ J. C. H. W. O'Swald, *Bericht über die zweite Expedition um die Welt mit dem Königl. Preussischen Schiff "Prinzess Louise" in den Jahren 1825 bis 1829*, printed as manuscript (Hamburg, 1917) p. 90, hereafter cited as O'Swald, *Bericht 1825-1829*; *Vossische Zeitung* No. 230, October 2, 1829.
- ⁸² This feather cloak still forms the focal point of the South Sea collection at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin Dahlem, Catalogue No. VI 366; cf. Anneliese W. Moore, "Prussian Presents—Military and Millinery," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 7, 1973, pp. 79-86, hereafter cited as Moore, "Prussian Presents."

- ⁸³ Acta Maitey, document 31.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, documents 50 and 51.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁶ Baptismal Certificate issued by *Neue Kirche*, Gendarmenmarkt, Berlin, May 7, 1830, Acta Maitey, document 38.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, document 33.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, document 35.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, documents 39 and 41.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, documents 42-44.
- ⁹¹ Moore, "Prussian Presents," p. 80.
- ⁹² O'Swald, *Bericht 1825-1829*, p. 120.
- ⁹³ Königl. Commissarius und Chef des Seehandlungs-Instituts, Acta betreffend den durch das Seehandlungs-Schiff *Prinzessin Louise* mitgebrachten Sandwich-Insulaner Jony. 1830. DZA, documents 1, 7, 8, 10.
- ⁹⁴ [No initial] Jühlke, "90. Sitzung am 29. Juni 1870," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Potsdams* (Potsdam, 1872) p. 244.
- ⁹⁵ Letters Ebert, June 26, 1834, and Rother, July 28, 1835, Acta Königliche General-Direction der Seehandlungs-Societät, GStA.
- ⁹⁶ Cf. David Woodside, "Nene," *Pacific Discovery*, (Berkeley, California) Vol. XIV, Nr. 5, September-October 1961, pp. 24-27.
- ⁹⁷ Caesar von der Ahé, "Das Maschinenhaus auf der Pfaueninsel und seine Bewohner," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins*, Heft 1, 1933, p. 9, hereafter cited as von der Ahé, "Maschinenhaus."
- ⁹⁸ Acta Maitey, document 44.
- ⁹⁹ August Kopisch, *Die königlichen Schlösser und Gärten zu Potsdam* (Berlin, 1854), p. 170; von der Ahé, "Maschinenhaus," pp. 8-9.
- ¹⁰⁰ Acta Maitey, document 43.
- ¹⁰¹ A. Bethge, *Die Hohenzollern-Anlagen Potsdams* (Berlin, 1888), p. 102; Caesar von der Ahé, "Die Menagerie auf der 'Königlichen Pfaueninsel'," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins*, 1930, Heft 1, p. 20, hereafter cited as von der Ahé, "Menagerie."
- ¹⁰² [No initial] Jühlke, "Das Palmenhaus auf der Pfaueninsel," 114. Sitzung am 28. Juni 1883, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Potsdams*, Neue Folge, 1. Theil (Potsdam 1875) pp. 183-187; K. Breuer, *Die Pfaueninsel bei Potsdam*, Dissertation Technische Hochschule Berlin, 1923, p. 107; Caesar von der Ahé, "Das Palmenhaus auf der Pfaueninsel 1830-1880," *Teltower Kreiskalender* 1930 (Berlin) No. 27, p. 70ff, hereafter cited as von der Ahé, "Palmenhaus"; Wolfgang Stichel, *Die Pfaueninsel* (Berlin-Hermsdorf, 1927) p. 44, hereafter cited as Stichel, *Pfaueninsel*.
- ¹⁰³ On Alexander von Humboldt: Douglas Botting, *Humboldt and the Cosmos* (New York, 1973) p. 227; one of the Blechen paintings is at the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, the other at the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.
- ¹⁰⁴ von der Ahé, "Menagerie," p. 12.
- ¹⁰⁵ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 30.
- ¹⁰⁶ von der Ahé, "Menagerie," p. 20.
- ¹⁰⁷ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer", p. 29.
- ¹⁰⁸ Acta Maitey, documents 54-55.
- ¹⁰⁹ Acta Maitey, documents 56-58.
- ¹¹⁰ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 29.
- ¹¹¹ Acta Maitey, document 38.
- ¹¹² Archiv der Kirchengemeinde Wannsee [formerly called Stolpe] per Pfarrer Hauschild, 1 Berlin 39, Schuchardtweg 5.

- ¹¹³ First they lived on the property of the Vetter family, next to the minister's house, on a street now called Leuschnerpromenade, then at No. 10 Kurfürstenstrasse [now Waldmüllerstrasse]; von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 25. See also note 126.
- ¹¹⁴ The cross in the cemetery at Nikolskoe near *Pfaueninsel* which commemorates Maitey and his wife as well as his wife's parents can be interpreted as an expression of closeness and good understanding between the German family and their exotic son-in-law. For a different interpretation, however, see Theodor Fontane's comment in *Fünf Schlösser, Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. XIII (München, 1960) p. 396, footnote, hereafter cited as Fontane, *Fünf Schlösser*; von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 22.
- ¹¹⁵ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 22.
- ¹¹⁶ Church register Klein-Glienicke, *per* Pfarrer Joachim Strauss, letter August 29, 1973, to author. Other god-parents of interest were Dr.med. Erhardt, Mrs. Rother's brother who once had made a crayon drawing of Maitey in his early years; Marie Strackonn, the dwarf from *Pfaueninsel*. Not mentioned among the god-parents is Maitey's former teacher Kopf. At the occasion of this baptism the church register lists Maitey's profession as *Königlicher Pensionär auf der Pfaueninsel*, but specifies Klein-Glienicke as his residence.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* The early death of Maitey's children are registered at Klein-Glienicke, cf. note 126, letter Pfarrer Strauss. His only grandchild attaining adulthood, Martha, born 1869, remained unmarried.
- ¹¹⁸ The lore that Maitey had "always been called 'the king's Sandwich islander'" is noted by Fritz Sotscheck [source: Erich Möller], unpublished Notizen betr. den Grabstein des Sandwich-Insulaners *Harry Maitey*, p. 5, private files of the Landesgeschichtliche Vereinigung für die Mark Brandenburg e.V., Berlin, hereafter cited as Sotscheck, *Notizen*. For access to these notes I am gratefully indebted to Presidents Dr. Werner Vogel and Gerhard Kuchler of the Vereinigung. Von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 26, indirectly refers to Maitey's state of health by quoting from a request by engine master Friedrich that Maitey be moved back to *Pfaueninsel*.
- ¹¹⁹ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," pp. 25-26; letter Pfarrer Strauss, 29. August 1973.
- ¹²⁰ Stichel, *Die Pfaueninsel*, pp. 54-55.
- ¹²¹ Hill Gates Rohsenow, *Hawaiian Social Organization, 1778-1820*, M.A. thesis, 1967, University of Hawaii, microfilm, p. 44.
- ¹²² von der Ahé, "Heinrich Wilhelm Maitey."
- ¹²³ Georg Poensgen and Walter Effenberger, *Die Pfaueninsel* (Berlin, 1971).
- ¹²⁴ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Neun Generationen* (Göttingen, 1964), Vol. 2, p. 309.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 402. For Oswald's own report about the months in Honolulu, February 5 until March 5, 1828, see O'Swald, *Bericht 1825-1829*, pp. 84-92.
- ¹²⁶ Kern "Dienstgebäude," cols. 363-64; A. Oskar Klausmann, "Die Königlich Preussische Seehandlung," *Daheim* (Leipzig, 1901), Vol. 22, No. 37, p. 15.
- ¹²⁷ Hawaiians were highly susceptible to smallpox. Five to six thousand died during the epidemic that hit their islands in 1853-54. Von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer," p. 30, mentions specifically that Maitey contracted the disease through contact with French prisoners of war. I am gratefully indebted to Kurt Pomplun, Berlin, for referring me to Fontane, *Fünf Schlösser*, p. 339, where the presence of Frenchmen near Maitey's residence is explained.
- ¹²⁸ Church register Klein-Glienicke, letter Pfarrer Strauss August 29, 1973.
- ¹²⁹ Maitey's tombstone might well be the best preserved of any Hawaiian buried abroad. This stone cross was saved from planned destruction and consequently restored to its original form through the interest of concerned Berliners, through cooperation of the press and through the services of Berlin's municipal restoration agency Amt für Stadtbildpflege, cf. Sotscheck, *Notizen*, p. 4; "Des Königs Sandwich-Insulaner," *Tagesspiegel* (Berliner Ausgabe) August 27, 1967; Kurt Pomplun, "Ein königlicher Pflegling kam mit dem preussischen Segler Mentor aus der Südsee," *Berliner Morgenpost*, September 12, 1976.

- ¹³⁰ Willi Wohlberedt, *Verzeichnis der Grabstätten bekannter und berühmter Persönlichkeiten in Gross-Berlin und Potsdam mit Umgebung*, II. Teil (Berlin, 1934), p. 135.
- ¹³¹ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer", and "Heinrich Wilhelm Maitey."
- ¹³² World War II and the ensuing events led to the dispersal of the Prussian State Archives. The village of Klein-Glienicke, located precariously at the boundary between West-Berlin and the German Democratic Republic at *Glienicker Brücke/Brücke der Einheit*, today is accessible only to its inhabitants, citizens of the German Democratic Republic. Park and castle are part of West Berlin.
- ¹³³ von der Ahé, "Hawaiianer" p. 30.
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25. Without giving a specific reference, von der Ahé, however, mentioned that he had seen in the files of the former Prussian Hofmarschallsamt that Maitey's father used to be a soldier in Hawaii.
- ¹³⁵ Letter Kalakaua, Berlin, August 4, 1881 in Richard A. Greer, ed., "The Royal Tourist—Kalakaua's Letters Home from Tokio to London," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 5, 1971, pp. 103-104.
- ¹³⁶ Mathilde Gräfin von Keller, *40 Jahre im Dienste der Kaiserin* (Leipzig, 1935), p. 36.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.* It is quite possible that Eduard Maitey witnessed Kalakaua's visits to Potsdam and Klein-Glienicke, though he was away from the Potsdam area for some time, serving as an actuary at Angermünde. Later he returned to Potsdam where he spent the rest of his life.